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Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 IO-03 PM-03 SP-02 L-01

PRS-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00

INRE-00 ACDA-10 /057 W
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O R 201110Z AUG 75
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2013
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1579

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV, RH, ZA, UK
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: ZAMBIANS SEEK CLOSE BRITISH SUPPORT IN NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT

1. SUMMARY. IN ABSENCE FROM LUSAKA OF MILES, BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER, HIS DEPUTY MCQUIGGAN GAVE ME 40-MINUTE BRIEFING EVENING AUG 19 ON RECENT BRITISH INVOLVEMENT WITH ZAMBIANS TO STRENGTHEN BISHOP MUZOREWA'S RESOLVE AS ANC SPOKESMAN; ENCORAGE HIM TO ADOPT STATESMAN-LIKE STANCE IN FACE OF SMITH'S PROVOCATIONS; AND PLAN FOR FRUITFUL MEETING AT VICTORIA FALLS BRIDGE AUG 25 SO AS TO KEEP UP FORWARD MOVEMENT TOWARD NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. HOWEVER, IN BRITISH VIEW IT IS ANYONE'S GUESS AS TO WHAT WILL COME OUT OF BRIDGE MEETING. END SUMMARY.

2. MARK CHONA CALLED BRITISH HICOM MILES AND MR. MCQUIGGAN OVER TO STATE HOUSE FRIDAY AFTERNOON AUG 15 FOLLOWING MY MEETING WITH CHONA IN THE MORNING. (LUSAKA CONFIDENTIAL

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3. CHONA COVERED MUCH THE SAME GROUND WITH BRITISH
AS HE HAD WITH ME BUT SOUGHT DIRECT BRITISH INVOLVEMENT,
STRESSING UK SOVERIGN RESPONSIBILITY IN RHODESIAN
SETTLEMENT. FOLLOWING ZAMBIAN URGING, BRITISH SAW BISHOP
MUZOREWA FOR LONG DISCUSSION SATURDAY MORNING AUG 16.
BISHOP EXPLAINED HIS BRIEF PUBLIC STATEMENTS
FOLLOWING SMITH'S PROVOCATIVE PUBLIC UTTERANCES TO
PARLIAMENT AND OVER RADIO, THEN INVITED BRITISH COUNSEL.
BRITISH WARNED BISHOP AGAINST PUBLIC RELATIONS DANGERS OF
ENGAGING IN MUTUAL RECRIMINATION WITH SMITH AS WELL AS
DAMAGE WHICH COULD BE DONE TO STATURE OF ANC AND BISHOP
HIMSELF. ATTENTION OF WORLD FOCUSED ON DRAMATIC MEETING
IN RAILWAY COACHES ON BRIDGE. THIS WAS OPPORTUNITY OF A
LIFETIME FOR ANC TO GAIN RECOGNITION, APPROVAL, AND SUPPORT
OF WORLD OPINION. IF ANC MAINTAINED DIGNITY AND RESOLVE FOR
NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, SMITH COULD NOT HARM THEM PSYCHOLOGICALLY,
BUT THEY COULD DAMAGE THEMSELVES IF THEY MATCHED INSULTS AND
FOLLOWED SUIT IF SMITH STOMPED AWAY FROM MEETING.

4. TWO PLENARY SESSIONS OF FULL ANC LEADERSHIP IN LUSAKA
ON SATURDAY AND SUNDAY RESULTED IN CONCILIATORY STATEMENT
BY BISHOP. BRITISH THUS SATISFIED THEIR COUNSEL HAD
EFFECT AND MODERATE VIEWPOINT STILL PREVAILING.
MCQUIGGAN SAID HE HAS BEEN ON ALMOST HOURLY CALL FROM
STATE HOUSE AND IN PAST THREE DAYS HAS HAD SUCCESSION
OF MEETINGS WITH CHONA. ALSO MET PRESUMABLY BY CHANCE
AT STATE HOUSE WITH RHODESIAN SECURITY REPRESENTATIVE
WHOM HE DID NOT IDENTIFY (PERHAPS ROBINSON). RHODESIAN
IS HERE IN LUSAKA TO DISCUSS SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR
BRIDGE MEETING. ZAMBIANS ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED BRITISH
UNDERTAKE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND WHILE IT WAS CONSIDERED
IN LONDON, DECISION MADE TO DECLINE.

5. BRITISH BELIEVE CHONA HAS "RUN OUT OF GAS" AS GO-
BETWEEN, AND MAY HAVE WEAKENED HIS CREDENTIALS WITH ANC
RANK AND FILE FOR BEING PARTY TO PRETORIA AGREEMENT. IN
SUM, ZAMBIANS "HAVE THEIR BELLY FULL OF WHOLE AFFAIR", AND
AS CONSEQUENCE WANT BRITISH TO STEP IN AND PLAY MORE ACTIVE
INTERMEDIARY ROLE. CHONA SAID HE JUST RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS
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AUG 19 FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA (STILL ON TOUR IN PROVINCES)
TO ENGAGE BRITISH DIRECTLY IN EFFORT TOWARD NEGOTIATED
SETTLEMENT. BRITISH IN REPLY ACKNOWLEDGED TO ZAMBIANS
THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES AS SOVERIGN POWER BUT SAID WOULD
DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES ON MOST OPPORTUNE MOMENT TO BECOME
INVOLVED. BRITISH DO NOT RPT NOT SEE PRESENT MOMENT
PROPITIOUS AND REGARD ZAMBIAN JUDGEMENT EXCEEDINGLY POOR
TO WANT BRITISH IN ON TALKS NOW. THEY POINT OUT BRITISH

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NOT INVITED BY EITHER SIDE TO BRIDGE MEETING AND THERE NO INDICATION WHATSOEVER EITHER SAG PREMIER VORSTER OR IAN SMITH WANT BRITISH PRESENT AT THIS TIME. MOREOVER, BRITISH ARGUED THAT VORSTER HAS UPPER HAND AND A SHARP WHIP TO USE OVER SMITH AND SHOULD CONTINUE FOR MAXIMUM EFFECT.

6. CHONA SUGGESTED THAT BRITISH COULD AT LEAST BE ON HAND IN CASE OF NEED AT LIVINGSTONE. IT AGREED HICOM MILES AND MCQUIGGAN WOULD INSTALL THEMSELVES IN HOTEL AT LIVINGSTONE BUT MAKE NO EFFORT WHATSOEVER TO CONTACT PRINCIPALS OR BECOME INVOLVED UNLESS THEIR ASSISTANCE SPECIFICALLY SOUGHT. THIS ACCEPTABLE TO ZAMBIANS.

7. BRITISH HAVE SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT "WHAT HAPPENS

NEXT". SMITH-ANC DISPUTE OVER COMMITTEE WORK HAS NOT BEEN SORTED OUT, ALTHOUGH ANC IS MODIFYING ITS POSITION SOMEWHAT, WHILE HOLDING FIRM THAT NEGOTIATIONS IN COMMITTEE WILL NOT OCCUR IN RHODESIA, AS SMITH INSISTS. MCQUIGGAN SAID HE ADVANCED A NUMBER OF SUGGESTIONS WHICH SEEMED OBVIOUS AND PRACTICAL TO HIM. PROVIDED SOUTH AFRICA HAS SUFFICIENT RAILWAY CARS AND CAN MAKE THEM AVAILABLE, AND ZAIRE NOT GIVEN PROBLEMS WITH BLOCKED TRAFFIC ON BRIDGE, TWO LOCOMOTIVES COULD BE ATTACHED TO THREE RAILWAY CARS WITH VORSTER'S DINING CAR (CONFERENCE ROOM) IN THE MIDDLE AND A "COMMITTEE CAR" POSITIONED BEHIND THE DINER AND CLOSER TO THE RHODESIAN BORDER. PLENARY OPENING SESSION COULD BE HELD IN DINER. UPON COMPLETION OF THIS SESSION, OTHER RAIL CARS COULD BE DECOUPLED AND SHUNTED BY ENGINES EACH MOVING IN OPPOSITE

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ACTION AF-04

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PRS-01 INR-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2014
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1579

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DIRECTIONS, ONE BACK TO RHODESIAN SIDE, THE OTHER
TO ZAMBIAN SIDE. COMMITTEE CAR WOULD END UP ON RHODESIAN
SIDING WITH MIXED GROUPING OF LOW LEVEL ANC DRAFTING
TYPES AND RHODESIANS WHO COULD WORK AD REFERENDUM ON SUCH
SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AS FRANCHISE. "PROBLEM NATIONALISTS"
SUCH AS SITHOLE AND CHIKEREMA COULD WAIT WITH BISHOP AND
REST OF ANC LEADERSHIP ON ZAMBIAN SIDE TO BE CONSULTED
LATER BY COMMITTEE MEMBERS. WHEN READY TWO SIDES WOULD
RECONVENE IN MIDDLE OF BRIDGE FOR ANOTHER PLENARY SESSION
TO NEGOTIATE ACCEPTABILITY OF PROPOSALS. THIS ARRANGEMENT
SEEMS TO BE GAINING ACCEPTABILITY WITHIN ANC BUT WOULD STILL
REQUIRE SMITH'S CONCURRENCE. HAS ADVANTAGE, BRITISH
BELIEVE, OF KEEPING PARTIES CLOSE TOGETHER AND WORKING AND
MINIMIZING DELAYS FROM TRAVELTO AND FROM SALISBURY AND
LUSAKA, DIVISIONS THIS MIGHT PRODUCE IN ANC AND ALSO
MINIMIZING INDEPENDENT INTERVIEWS WITH PRESS.

8. OTHER ISSUES OF CHAIRMANSHIP AND OBSERVERS ARE STILL
NOT COMPLETELY SETTLED WITHIN ANC. BRITISH AS WELL AS ANC
HAVE BEEN CRITICAL OF CHONA OF GLARING OMISSION THESE ITEMS
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IN PRETORIA AGREEMENT AS NEED ACUTE TO BLOCK SMITH FROM
TAKING IMMEDIATE CONTROL OF PROCEEDINGS AND REDUCING FIRST
PLENARY TO ONE HALF HOUR SESSION, AS SMITH HAS SUGGESTED.

9. DISCUSSIONS AMONG ANC, ZAMBIA AND BRITISH ON SUBJECT
OF OBSERVERS SO FAR HAS RESULTED IN FAVORING TWO OBSERVERS,
ONE SOUTH AFRICAN FOR RHODESIAN SIDE, AND ONE OBSERVER OR
POSSIBLY EVEN FOUR (BRITISH REGARD THIS AS IMPRACTICAL)
TO REPRESENT FOUR CHIEFS OF STATES MOST DIRECTLY
CONCERNED (BOTSWANA, TANZANIA, ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE)
ON ANC SIDE. HERE AGAIN NOT ONLY CONCURRENCE OF SMITH,
BUT OTHERS URGENTLY NEEDED.

10. MCQUIGGAN REPORTED THAT UNIDENTIFIED RHODESIAN
SECURITY OFFICER NOW IN LUSAKA EXPRESSED CONCERN OF
RHODESIAN WHITE COMMUNITY OVER INFLUENCE WHICH "EXTREMISTS
LIKE SITHOLE AND CHIKEREMA" HAVE OVER BISHOP MUZOREWA.
MCQUIGGAN URGED VIEW IN REVERSE, WHICH WOULD SSE MODERATING

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INFLUENCE WHICH BISHOP IS HAVING ON OTHERS. MCQUIGGAN ADMITTED HE HAD TONGUE IN CHEEK. WHILE BISHOP NOT QUAVERING (CHONA HAD USED WORK "SHIVERING" IN TALKING WITH BRITISH AND ME), HE SEEMS TO BE BEARING UP IN STATESMANLIKE MANNER AFTER BRITISH COUNSELING. WOULD ALSO LOKE TO THINK THAT OUR MODEST COUNSEL TO BISHOP THAT HE PRESS ON FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND NOT RISE TO SMITH'S BAIT WAS ADDED ENCOURAGEMENT TO BISHOP'S GENERALLY MODERATE AND RESTRAINED STANCE. (LUSAKA 1548). KDITHOLE'S NEW ATTITUDE OF RESTRAINT IS REGARDED BY BRITISH AS TEMPORARY EXPEDIENT WHILE HE BIDING TIME UNTIL NEGOTIATIONS BREAK DOWN AND HE CAN STEP IN TO ASSUME LEADERSHIP OF ALTERNATIVE EFFORT TO FIND SOLUTION THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE.

11. BRITISH URGED RHODESIANS THROUGH SECURITY OFFICER HERE TO REFRAIN FROM SINGLING OUT FOR PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT ANC EXECUTIVE MEMBER JOSHUA NKOMO AS MODERATE. EVEN THOUGH MODERATES NEED ENCOURAGING, SUCH ACTION IS KISS OF DEATH WHICH TENDS TO DRIVE FURTHER WEDGE INTO ANC RANKS AT TIME WHEN UNITY ESSENTIAL. BRITISH IMPRESSED UPON RHODESIAN SECURITY OFFICER THAT UNITED ANC SHOULD BE IN RHODESIAN LONG TERM INTERESTS. CONTRAST DRAWN BETWEEN RELATIVE STABILITY IN MOZAMBIQUE DIRECTLY RELATED TO UNITED FRELIMO
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AND CIVIL WAR NOW RAGING IN ANGOLA STEMMING FROM SHARP CLEAVAGES AMONG LIBERATION MOVEMENTS.

12. MCQUIGGAN SAID BRITISH INTENDED TO REST ON THEIR OARS FOR AWAHILE, PERSHAPS LIMITING THEIR CONTACTS TO COURTESY CALL ON ANC VICE PRESIDENT DR. GABELLAH AND BRIEF CHECK-INS WITH OTHER ANC NATIONALISTS TO SEE HOW PREPRATIONS FOR BRIDGE MEETING WERE GOING. HE INQUIRED ABOUT US CONTACTS WITH AN NATIONALISTS. I INDICATED THEY WOULD BE LOW KEY AND A STEP OR TWO BEHIND BRITISH, ONLY TI KEEP INFORMED.

13. I REITERATED TO MCQUIGGAN US POLICY IN SUPPORT TO UK AND UN EFFORTS TOWARD NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, THANKED THE BRITISH FOR KEEPING US INFORMED, AND ASKED IF BRITISH FELT THERE WAS ANYTHING US NEED TO IN CIRCUMSTANCES, OTHER THAN KEEPING UP LOW-KEY CONTACTS WITH ANC AND ZAMBIANS. MCQUIGGAN OFFERED NO SUGGESTIONS.

14. BRITISH, HE SAID, ARE ANNOYED AT ZAMBIANS FOR THEIR COLD TREATMENT OF BRITISH OVER PAST FEW MONTHS AND FOR FAILING TO KEEP THEM INFORMED OF RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT DEVELOPMENTS. CHONA HAD HALF-APOLOGIZED AND PROMISED CLOSE COLLABORATION WITH BRITISH IN FUTURE.
WIKLOWSKI

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